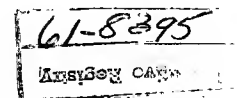


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LIMITED DISTRIBUTION - NOT FOR PUBLICATION

3 October 1961

Mr. Allen Dulles

The attached Proposal for the Creation of a World Congress for Freedom and Democracy, and a draft of a Declaration of Principles, are submitted to you on a personal basis. The documents are unclassified and unsigned, but I have felt it necessary to stipulate Limited Distribution and Not for Publication. It is especially important that they not be associated with the government agency for which I work.

The two documents are the outgrowth of a proposal made at Bologna in April 1961 by Ugo La Malfa and Altiero Spinelli, endorsed by Il Mulino research group. They are written for consideration first by a few senior US Government officials who have been interested in the Mulino proposal and subsequently by a small committee of American and European individuals, assembled on a private basis, to explore the possibility of establishing the Congress.

The draft Declaration deliberately merges several levels of discourse, intellectual, hortatory and polemic. General statement has been mixed with particular and even with personal "asides" (these are enclosed in parentheses, and are not intended for use in more developed drafts). The task of separating or integrating these different levels of language and thought, and of preparing a single Declaration which will carry its message to all mankind, obviously calls for cooperative effort of study and composition.

Your comments are invited.

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22 August 1961

PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION OF A WORLD CONGRESS
FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

II. Introduction

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that President Kennedy take the initiative in promoting the organization of a permanent World Congress for Freedom and Democracy. This proposal is the outgrowth and extension of a suggestion originally made by Signor Ugo La Malfa at the 5th International Convegno of the Friends and Collaborators of Il Mulino (Bologna, 22-24 April 1961), endorsed by Altiero Spinelli and by the official spokesman of the Mulino Group. The idea has subsequently been discussed in this country with a number of scholars and officials and has met with general approval. In the face of the aggressive Communist challenge there appears to be a widespread sentiment - reflected in numerous weighty editorials, speeches and articles - that it is high time for the US to undertake positive and confident measures on a scale transcending previous endeavors.

I. Scope of the Congress

The recent publication of the new Draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), heading up to its 22nd Congress in October 1961, has merely added one more note of accent to the dramatic evidence of mounting Communist dynamics symbolized by the Soviet triumphs in outer space. Even more fundamental and threatening than these scientific and technological spectacles is the ideological challenge presented by the CPSU under the slogan of "transition to Communism." It is apparent from the Draft Program that the CPSU is undertaking to appropriate all the basic value-laden and tradition-rich terms and concepts of the Free World, not merely as in the past, Peace and Freedom, but more recently Democracy and Humanism. These

are not mere propaganda manipulations designed to discredit the basic principles of the Free World - even though in the process the latter do become tarnished - but are an active campaign of "revaluation of all values," going beyond anything which Nietzsche dreamed of when he coined the slogan.

The fact is of course that values are constantly being transformed by historical process, some sliding into debasement as shibboleths and clichés, others emerging with new content and appeal. This is a global process in which, as the Communists say, "life itself" forces us to engage. Hitherto our participation in it has been largely reluctant and defensive. At times it has almost seemed that we were being "dragged, kicking and screaming," into the second half of the 20th century.

The wellsprings of our political and social thought have not run dry. The Free World still has abundant sources of creative theory and action and it has noble spokesmen who are able to give fresh meaning to the immemorial principles of the Hellenic-Judeo-Christian tradition within the complex of modern polities, economies and societies.

What is proposed here is a renewal - not so much revaluation as revitalization - of that "public philosophy" (Walter Lippmann) which our millennial culture has produced, coupled with a critical scrutiny of those changes which must be made in it if it is to meet the historical challenges which are the begetters and destroyers of the world's great civilizations. It is also a proposal to meet by free organizational means the threat continually posed by the International Communist Movement through its enduring "organizational weapon," the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties which in protean forms - Comintern, Cominform and "Socialist Commonwealth" - has attacked us and is attacking us by open and subversive devices.

The task is not merely one of countering and defense, though a strong polemic current would run throughout the activities of the Congress. Rather, the task is one of push-

ing forward the great programs of construction, development, planning and shaping of the new nations arising from the ashes of imperialism and which are the potential prey of tyranny and prize of freedom. The Congress would be the agora, unofficial but universal, in which the material exchange between rich and poor would develop norms of justice, the school for the tutored and the unlettered, and the forum in which old, experienced, perhaps somewhat embittered societies would impart wisdom and derive a new elan from the young, undisciplined and often wildly hopeful. It is not too much to say that the success or failure of the World Congress would depend on the concreteness and practicality of the programs which it sets, not on the brilliance of its words, though these must also be pitched to the level of the informing ideas. We can envisage here only the general outlines of a "Grand Design," based on the national and international situation of the Free World as it now exists, seeking to point the course of future progress in the direction of new supra-national structures which will certainly emerge in the coming decade.

The proposal for the World Congress does not specifically espouse existing federal movements, whether European, North Atlantic, or world-wide in scope. It recognizes the normative value of such programs, while seeking to avoid both their parochial and their utopian aspects. It seeks the reconciliation of the ideal with the practical, the distant future with the here-and-now. In this respect, our approach is different from that of International Communism only in the fact that we view the continuing "revolution" of history as starting from a constructive rather than a destructive premise.

We are seeking to reinvigorate both the ideological and the organizational framework of the Free World. At this stage the effort is of necessity polarized because it confronts an enemy who is determined that it shall be so. Our ultimate aim of course would be to bring an end to that underlying Manichean cosmology - an eternal conflict of light and dark - which informed the Leninist-Stalinist view of history and which, despite his assurance of the imminent triumph of the Communist "light," is still essentially that of Khrushchev.

We dare not predict that the successful outcome of this endeavor would ensure the conversion of the Communist "wave of the future" to our side. There can be no assurance that anything which the Free World is capable of realizing at this stage would convince the leaders or the peoples of the "World Socialist System" that their goal of domination is either wrong or unfeasible. What we can hope to do is to commit many of the uncommitted to our side and thereby to establish a fuller "containment" of Communism, not primarily by military force-in-being or by the construction of political bastions around the entire periphery, but rather by simply winning that very struggle of "peaceful competition" which Khrushchev has insisted we cannot evade. Thus, and thus only, would time be on our side.

In order to make this vast program really work we will have to address ourselves to it, not merely with dedication and idealistic fervor, which are already in large measure available, but with the scarcer virtues of prudence, realism, and humility. For what is at stake is the validity of the Communist contention that the "World Capitalist system" is fatally ridden with internal "antagonistic contradictions." We cannot escape the dialectic which they have thrust upon us and, indeed, it is perhaps best at least for forensic purposes to utilize, in order to refute, their terminology. The intellectual basis of this discussion must be of the highest worth, evading neither semantic nor terminological difficulties, in order to achieve cogency. At a later stage in public declarations this type of conceptual precision - which is often viewed as mere jargon - can be reduced to less rarified and more universally apprehensible statement.

The point at issue is whether the dialectic, the contradictions and conflicts which history has built into the European-American tradition, have brought it, as the Communists claim, to a phase of final deterioration or whether it is still, as it has been in the past, fruitful and progressive.

The World Congress is conceived as a fully representative reflection - not of course expressed in strict proportional representational terms - of the entire political spectrum

lying between the anti-democratic or "lunatic fringe" extremes of the Right and Left. Put in party terms, the World Congress would have to comprise Republicans and Democrats of all stamps in the United States, Christian and Social Democrats, Centrists and Conservatives or their counterparts in the European countries.

The application of this criterion would of course lead immediately to difficulties. Dictatorships of the Franco-Salazar type would have to be excluded, as would feudal monarchies. In the newly emerging countries the pattern would inevitably have to be flexible. Clearly, Pakistan can be described as working toward a democratic order; Indonesia possibly away from it. The one-party nationalist states of Africa, such as Ghana and Guinea, would have a strong claim to participation. The criterion would be not so much formal qualifications against a check-list of essential characteristics - which however should be drawn up as norms - but rather aspiration and direction. The hope, indeed the indispensable condition of success, would be that these aspirations would emerge from an inchoate to an ordered state. We would have to find our own interpretation of the neologism coined by the Moscow Declaration of December 1960, the state form called "national democracy" which includes such divergent regimes as those of Nasser, Sukarno, Kassem and Castro - some we would want, others we would exclude, or they would exclude themselves.

In the initial preparatory stage, leadership of the World Congress must come from the United States. Perhaps alone among world leaders, President Kennedy has the stature to launch the organizational process and to muster the moral, material and intellectual resources to carry it through in its formative phase. But it would be clearly recognized by all, especially ourselves, that this was the leadership of primus inter pares. Almost immediately the full weight of potentially integrated Europe with its vast resources of thought and power would provide a stimulating and friendly challenge to the American leadership and many of the emerging nations would speedily make their own bids for influence. Not all, of course, would be easy. It might be anticipated that stubborn factors of nationalism,

mistrust of global international organizations centering in clashes within the UN, motives of power politics, economic interests, and even visions of grandeur would spring into play, and that one or more of the great individual national leaders would scorn or ignore the Congress.

It is precisely for this reason that the World Congress must be independent. Governments should be invited to contribute money and men to the organization, including the participation of high officials. But in the meetings of the Congress the latter would be on the same footing as distinguished private individuals and would be expected to rest their authority, whether as heads or members of delegations, on their personal ability to contribute to the global and local development of Freedom and Democracy. There could be no lobbying for special national interests, no behind-the-scenes influencing, and least of all attempts at clandestine exploitation. In practice this would mean that the Congress would have to be a private organization. Inevitably much and even most of its material support would come from public sources, but this would be accepted only as a free contribution. It would be hoped that a substantial part, if not the bulk of the U.S. contribution, which itself would be by far the largest, would come from private foundations and other institutions.

II. Preparatory Work for the Establishment of the World Congress

The actual establishment of the Congress would take place at its First World Meeting, tentatively set for two years after the initiation of the preparatory work. This preliminary phase would be conducted entirely by a single body, the Preparatory Commission. An outline of its procedure is set forth in the following time table beginning January 1962. (It is recognized of course that informal, unpublicized work would have to take place during the preceding months).

January 1962 - Invitation by the President of the United States to the free and democratic nations of the world to join in the establishment of an International Preparatory Commission for the World Congress. The President would designate an outstanding citizen to be his representative, and would suggest that he be Chairman pro tem of the Commission. It is suggested that a former President or candidate for President or Vice President, or person of comparable weight, be designated. At the same time an Executive Secretary would also be proposed. This, and any other individual from the government serving as a member of the World Congress would do so in a private capacity, though this would not necessarily require that he give up his official duties. The President would recommend that the same principle be accepted by all countries taking part in the World Congress. He would offer to contribute a sum estimated to cover one quarter of the expenses of the International Preparatory Commission. He would invite American private institutions to contribute another quarter, the rest to be made up from foreign private and public sources.

March 1962 - Completion of the organization of the United States element of the Preparatory Commission and Executive Secretariat. It is suggested that the US element of the Preparatory Commission consist of about ten persons, selected from various walks of life for their ability to make a direct contribution of thought and action. This should not be regarded as an honorary function; it would be exacting of time and effort. The Executive Secretary and his Staff would be of comparable size, and should be selected on strict criteria of intellectual profundity, political astuteness, and experience in international affairs. Theirs would be a full time activity, leading preferably to later continuance on the Permanent Executive Secretariat.

June 1962 - Completion of the cadre and first meeting of the International Preparatory Commission. In fact, the canvassing of this cadre should begin the moment the President decides to sponsor the Congress. In the early stages it should be conducted without publicity and utilizing a variety

of public and government instrumentalities. The first and most critical decision would be the list of countries to take part in the Commission - as opposed to the much broader and easily constructed list of members of the Congress as a whole. The following are suggested as among the most eligible:

The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, West Germany, Italy, Benelux, Scandinavia (single representative), Switzerland, Austria, India, Japan, the Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, Liberia, Nigeria.

(If this is deemed too unwieldy a group, it might be reduced by restricting the English-speaking elements of the British Commonwealth, Latin America and Africa to a single delegation each. Austria and the Philippines might also be dropped. If India were unwilling to accept because of the exclusion of Communists from membership in the Congress, Pakistan might be considered; despite its quasi-dictatorial regime, it can be said to be the prototype of ordered progress in the direction of Democracy).

It is suggested that each country participating in the work of the International Preparatory Commission establish its own National Preparatory Commission and Executive Secretariat, the heads of which would represent it at the working meetings of the International body. Thus there would in effect be 12 to 15 members each on the International Preparatory Commission and its Executive Secretariat. On some occasions, both would meet together; more frequently only the latter would convene. Both groups would elect their own heads, replacing the American chairman and secretary pro tem.

January 1963 - The second half of 1962 would be devoted to preliminary study of the work necessary to prepare for the First World Congress. It is suggested that during

this phase the American group should take the initiative in preparing terms of reference for a Draft Declaration on Freedom and Democracy, and informal suggestions for the agenda and future organization. This would reflect the American role of leadership and its advance preparation for the task of the Congress. There would of course be much informal contact and coordination during this period, especially among the American and European elements.

The first formal meeting of the entire Preparatory Commission and Secretariat would be held in January 1963, at which time the agreed terms of reference would be submitted to the various national elements of the Preparatory Commission.

July 1963 - During these six months drafts would be prepared on the items in the terms of reference. These would be submitted to the International Secretariat for distribution to all members. The Second Meeting of the International Preparatory Commission and Secretariat would be held in July. The various national contributions would be considered, and a special drafting committee selected to prepare a final Draft Declaration for the Congress. At this second meeting, the Commission would compile the final list of countries to be invited to participate in the World Congress and would begin work on a Draft of Statutes to be adopted at the First World Meeting.

January 1964 - Third and final meeting of the International Preparatory Commission would approve the text of the Draft Declaration and Statutes and would handle other matters connected with the World meeting such as agenda, procedure, and membership.

April or May 1964 - Holding of the First World Congress. The selection of a site for the Congress would present considerable difficulty, and should have been the subject of consideration in all three plenary sessions of the Preparatory Commission. There appear to be a number of general

alternatives: (1) A metropolis or capital of a major country (Washington, New York, Paris, etc.). (2) The capital or other important city of a lesser country not necessarily a member of the Preparatory Commission (Bandung, Tunis, Brasilia). (3) An attractive resort of the Bretton Woods type. The Congress itself would deal with the question of establishing a site for the permanent organization (see below, III, D.).

The organizational and procedural pattern of the First World Meeting would establish that for the succeeding triennial Regular World Meetings (see below, IV, D). The Statutes might make provision for Extraordinary World meetings on the basis of a request from a majority of the member national councils.

To be effective, the activities and declarations of the World Congress and its Commissions will have to be publicized, reaching to the extent possible all literate persons of the globe. The launching of the project under the auspices of the President of the United States and the meetings of prominent world leaders will generate tremendous publicity at the time, but this must be sustained. Many methods are available and should be fully utilized. It goes without saying that the publicity activities should be dignified, in keeping with the serious purposes of the Congress and its Commissions, but also vital and imaginative enough to appeal to all strata of society, from a European intellectual to a Senegalese school teacher or a Japanese trade unionist. Much of the publicizing of the activities of the Congress could be left to the national organizations which could adapt their methods to local conditions. These organizations could utilize various media available, such as radio and TV reports by returning delegates, movie coverage of meetings, pamphlets, school materials, and discussion forums.

Under the direction of the Executive Council, the Secretariat could be charged with guiding and developing methods of publicizing the work of the Congress.

III. Permanent Organization of the Congress

The two and a half years of work by the Preparatory Commission, leading up to the First World Congress for Freedom and Democracy, in addition to preparing the Agenda and Declaration of the Congress meeting would also lay the foundations of a permanent organization. This is outlined below under the following headings:

- A. Executive Council
- B. Executive Secretariat
- C. Permanent Commissions
- D. Regular World Meetings of the Congress
- E. Affiliated Organizations

It is understood that throughout the organizational framework national and international bodies would exist and work in parallel. The pattern of organization itself is discussed here only in its most general form, that of the parent international body. The corresponding national entities would vary greatly in size, complexity and balance of private and public participation. To a large extent the membership of the permanent elements would have been established in the preparatory phase, and would be renewed by co-option on the basis of majority vote. Veto or blackball by individual participating elements would appear to be incompatible with the democratic principle on which the Congress is founded.

In essence the World Congress would be an international Corporation of a private nature. Ideally it should have an endowment contributed by both governments and private sources. Alternatively, grants for operating expenses should cover the three-year periods between World Meetings, and should be based on budgets prepared by the Executive Council.

It is apparent, that because of its private nature and its exclusion of non-democratic nations, the World Congress could not have direct affiliation with the United Nations. It could, and should, however, express solidarity with the aims and programs of that body and its special agencies, insofar as these are based on principles of Freedom and Democracy.

A. Executive Council.

The composition of the Executive Council should be established in the Draft Statutes of the Congress, submitted for ratification to the First World Meeting. It is suggested that it consist of 12 to 15 members, serving for the period of three years between World Meetings of the Congress. In principle it might be composed of the following elements:

(1) The United States (permanent).

(2) The United Kingdom (permanent) and one member of the English-speaking nations of the British Commonwealth (rotated).

(3) Two Western European Community members (permanent).

(4) One European neutral (rotated); in addition to Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Eire, Finland might be considered, depending on Soviet reaction.

(5) Japan (permanent).

(6) India (permanent, if its principle of non-alignment will permit it to join a body openly opposed to the Communist Bloc).

(7) One country each from Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Free Asia (rotated).

The Presidency of the Council might be rotated annually during its three-year term, with the understanding that the United States and a European country would each occupy it for

one year, the third to be determined by majority vote of the Council members. Rotation of the non-permanent membership in the Council should be determined at the triennial World meeting of the Congress, possibly by a proportional voting system based on a list of nominations presented by the outgoing Council.

Alternatively, in order to avoid invidious national choices, the Permanent Council might be organized on a regional basis, say, North America, Latin America, Europe, Africa, Middle East and Asia, with each region being represented by two countries in rotation. This might also facilitate the holding of regional meetings between plenary sessions of the International Executive Council, and this in turn would favor the work of the Commission for Free and Democratic Regional Associations, (see below, 9., p.20).

The Executive Council would have full powers to act for the Congress within limits defined by the Statutes.

B. The Executive Secretariat.

Here too, the principle of permanent and non-permanent membership should be applied, with the provision that the non-permanent members generally be selected from countries not represented on the Council. The Secretariat would require a working staff whose members, as far as possible, should have permanent status.

C. Permanent Commissions of the Congress.

Besides its Executive Councils and Secretariats at the World and national levels, the Congress would establish a number of permanent functional Commissions, which in turn might generate sub-commissions, working groups, research projects and liaison contacts with the UN and with other existing private and government organizations in their fields. A number of possible Commissions are suggested below.

1. Commission on the "Public Philosophy" of Freedom and Democracy. This Commission would seek to establish the essential content of the twin concepts of Democracy and Freedom. In the face of the Communist misappropriation of these terms a profound intellectual effort will be necessary to give them new content and meaning. An effort in this direction has been made by President Eisenhower's National Goals Commission, but the results were less than universally applicable. Essays on the worth and dignity of the individual - no matter how well phrased - are not sufficient to restore the somewhat battered principles of Freedom. Efforts to define Democracy in terms that will be equally valid among countries which already have it and others, though aspiring, which are not ready for it, will involve political scientists and theorists with an intellectual challenge which they have not yet braced themselves to meet. In the last analysis, the only definition - and perhaps the sufficient one - may center in the authentic right to vote for a choice among representatives under a plural party system; in some cases, even this right may not be susceptible of exercise on a national level, until "basic democracy's" foundations have been laid at the local level (Pakistan). But the claim of Communism that free elections can be held under its form of "democracy" must be exposed as fraudulent.

We might call this the Commission on Ideology. It would, inter alia, study and illuminate the great thinkers and leaders of the past, the creative Revolutions of Democracy (American, British, French). It would invoke the memory of the American founding fathers, the Declaration of Independence, Abraham Lincoln, and other heroes and fathers of Freedom throughout the world.

2. The Commission on Free and Democratic Polity. This Commission would start with a recognition of the profoundly dialectical nature of the Free World political system, i.e. the interaction of the liberal and conservative positions in an essentially creative and fruitful process

around a dynamic center. Radicalism and reaction, which complete the five sector semicircle of classic European political organization, are recognized as the extremes which, on the one hand, are necessary to energize the moderate Left and Right and, on the other hand, are destructive elements threatening the stability and even the existence of the democratic type of regime. The program of the World Congress, like its membership, will center in the constructive elements of this dialectic and seek to exclude the destructive. Within this comprehensive framework, the Commission would examine types of constitutions, electoral and party systems, guarantees of civil rights, and other political matters, seeking to derive lessons from institutions and practices already well-established, and at the same time guiding those in the formative stages.

The experience and deliberations of the International Parliamentary Union would be of value in developing the political Commission, but because of the IPU's inclusion of "parliamentarians" from Communist, i.e. non-democratic countries, it could not participate directly in the activities of the Congress.

3. The Commission on Free and Democratic Economy. This Commission would start from the proposition that Freedom and Democracy in the economy are integral with the same principles in the polity. It would need little argument to show that much of the basic thought on the nature of the modern Free World economies has become relatively stagnant, and indeed no concerted effort has been made to revitalize the whole economic thought in the West. This inertia has provided a great opportunity for the Communists to stir up the waters of capitalism, bringing to the surface the sludgy deposits of the era which Marx rightly condemned. It seems almost impossible to refurbish the image of classical capitalism under the wornout shibboleths of private initiative and enterprise, nor under gimmicks such as "Peoples Capitalism." The generic elements of a mixed system have been

riveted into the advanced economies of the West by such historically irreversible developments as the welfare state and the New Deal. Our task again is one of dialectics: The Communists claim to be creating a "utopian" synthesis based on the harmonious reconciliation of the individual and the collective principles in "social labor." A vast amount of study and soul-searching will be necessary in order to prove that we have an actually or at least a potentially more valuable synthesis of our own.

The Economic Commission would examine a great variety of methods, concepts and systems, tried and untried, aimed at the instauration of true economic democracy. These would include the right and duty of the State to intervene on behalf of social and economic justice - as recognized in the recent Papal encyclical; the balance between the rising curve of productivity governed by the unbridled profit motive and the legitimate demands of individuals for stability and security from cradle to grave; the psychological reinforcement factors in management-labor relationships, including such experiments in Western economic practice as co-determination; the role of profit sharing in providing a regulatory mechanism for the spiralling incentives of management and labor; the role of cooperatives, especially such organizations articulated on a national scale as MIGROS (Switzerland). It is not suggested that the Economic Commission of the Congress could provide definitive answers to all such problems. Nevertheless, at least in their general aspects, nearly every manifestation of economic rationalization, including even advanced automation and linear programming, is seen to be relevant to the deeper concern of Democracy and Freedom.

A host of national and international economic organizations exist with which this Commission could work. Here, as in the work of the other Commissions, there would be an obverse and reverse: the Free World system and the Communist systems in competition. Heterodox "Communist" types of organization such as workers' councils (Yugoslavia)

might be studied for what they can teach of both good and bad economics. There would be a frank and objective examination of closed and open, coercive and permissive, planned and relatively undisciplined systems as models for the emerging nations, centering in a massive campaign to prove that in the long run only free and democratic economies are compatible with complete human fulfillment.

4. Commission on the Rule of Law. The great traditions of Western Freedom and Democracy all rest on the Rule of Law. Whether it be necessary to invoke an antecedent Divine or Natural Law in order to sanction all principles of practical Civil Law - and for that matter international law - or whether these may be posited as axiomatic, can be left to the philosophers and theologians. But some measure of agreement must be reached going beyond the principles of Austinian sovereignty which sanctioned the emergence of statist theories in the 19th century, leading into modern forms of totalitarianism. This topic has been fully canvassed by the International Commission of Jurists (New Delhi, 1960); this body might be invited to cooperate with the Commission on a still deeper effort to establish the principles of theoretical and practical jurisprudence of the Free World.

5. Commission on Cultural Freedom and Democracy. Cultural Freedom, like the Rule of Law, is of the essence of Democracy. That this can be propagated on a world scale has been brilliantly demonstrated by the career of the Congress of Cultural Freedom, especially in its biennial conferences. As in the case of the International Commission of Jurists, it might be used as a partner in developing the Cultural Freedom Commission for the World Congress. The task of the latter would be to examine the role of humanities and the creative arts in establishing a bond among all free peoples. It too would accept the challenge of the Communists as set forth for example in the Draft Party Program of the CPSU. It would examine the Communist contention that "bourgeois humanism" has outlived its creative era - Renaissance

and Enlightenment - and is now the instrument of exploitation of the capitalist bourgeoisie. It would also examine the claim that the "transition to Communism" will usher in the era of cultural Utopia, recently heralded by the head of the Soviet Academy of Sciences as being in the great tradition of Campanella's "City of the Sun." On our side, the Cultural Freedom Commission, drawing back from over-idealized projections, might hold forth our own image of free democratic man as the bearer of a culture built on high productivity and abundant leisure, going beyond any that has previously existed.

6. Commission for Free and Democratic Science and Technology. The role of science and technology in supporting the development of Freedom and Democracy would also warrant the creation of a separate Commission. The Scientific Commission would confront the greatest of Communist challenges, the claim that Marxism-Leninism provides the scientific base for the correct appraisal of all human situations and activities. The Communists have proclaimed that their system will beat ours in the establishment of a "mighty material-technical base" which will ensure the highest standard of living the world has ever known. The Scientific Commission would address itself to the validity of the Marxist-Leninist claims on the natural superiority of a "Socialist" Communist system in the generation of scientific progress. It would explore the deep roots of the relation between man as a political and social animal on the one hand and as the conqueror of nature on the other. It would push interdisciplinary approaches, especially in the new frontiers being opened by cybernetics. It would study the intensive efforts now being made in the USSR to perfect "human-engineering" techniques for conditioning of the "New Communist Man," and would expose their essentially inhumane methods and objectives. Eventually this Commission should become the supreme scientific body of the Free World, coordinating and inspiring research on such vast problems as public health, the balance of nature, peaceful uses of atomic energy and the disposal of nuclear wastes. It would work closely with

the Economic and other Commissions on the human implications of automation and cybernetics with respect to employment and the use of leisure. While it would not adopt a line of rigid non-cooperation with International bodies including Communist scientists, it would seek constantly to infuse them with the principles of Freedom and Democracy.

7. Commission for Free and Democratic Education. It is apparent that the survival and advancement of Free and Democratic societies depends upon education. One of the principal elements of persuasion in the Soviet image presented to backward nations is its success in overcoming illiteracy and ignorance within a single generation and through this to open a chance for all to engage in productive work. Communist China is girding for an even more massive effort. Even within the most advanced countries of the Free World education suffers from stagnation as a result of both affluence and parsimony, not to mention economic and social restrictions to privileged elites.

The Education Commission could address itself to both theoretical and practical problems. On the one hand, it would sponsor and coordinate experiments and research in the psychological and behavioral sciences serving as the vanguard of pedagogic innovation. On the other hand it would promote international cooperation in exchanges of teachers and students, and encourage the foundation of major regional educational institutions, especially in the fields of science, technology and agriculture. It would work closely with the great foundations, and would encourage governments to integrate educational with economic aid in the newly emerging nations. It would propagate the basic principle that education is the key to human dignity and productivity.

8. Commission for World Peace in Freedom and Democracy. It is essential in this field that the World Congress seize the initiative from the Communists and their

"front, " the World Peace Council. In view of the private nature of the Congress, it must not encroach upon the spheres of government organization and policy, national or international. Its influence can only be moral, but this can be great. The Commission would establish working groups for the study of the relation between Peace and Democracy in all its various aspects. Inevitably this would impinge on problems of a purely military order, the destructive effects of nuclear weapons, disarmament, arms control, and the requirements of civil defense. The Commission should not attempt to compete with the numerous private and official study groups and projects in these fields, and should maintain a level of generality and detachment which would leave its integrity untouched. But it should make no effort to conceal its aim of imposing the sign manual of Freedom and Democracy on the campaign for Peace, and resisting its degradation by the Communists.

9. Commission for Free and Democratic Regional Associations. The aspirations of the "third world" - the underdeveloped or backward countries - would run through the entire fabric of the Congress's activity. Since it would be hoped that many, if not most, of the countries in this category would participate in the Congress, their problems would arise in connection with each of the Commissions suggested above. The basic task of this Commission would be to promote regional association and federations, and Free World commonwealths. It would act as a voice of conscience directed against the numerous remains of imperialism and colonialism in the Free World which are the primary target of Communist propaganda. The US would have to face the hard fact that it has been formally designated by the Communists as the "leader of the imperialist camp." Mere protestations that we no longer hold territories nor conduct gunboat diplomacy are not sufficient to refute this charge. So long as we enjoy benefits, directly or indirectly, from the activities of even vestigial imperialism and colonialism, so long as we profit by the economic helplessness of any group of countries, without compensating

planning and investment for the diversification of their economies, our hands are not fully cleansed.

On the other side, the World Congress could serve as an effective instrument for exposing the much more vicious imperialism of the Communists, especially the USSR and China. It could analyze and refute the claims made for the "Socialist Commonwealth of Nations" (sodruzhestvo) as a full association of equal nations, animated by fraternal cooperation and mutual benefit.

D. Regular World Meetings of the Congress.

The triennial World Meetings of the Congress should be rotated among the principal regions. It is suggested that not more than 500 representatives attend. Assuming that there might be about 80 nations participating, and that delegations would be of equal size, the average delegation would consist of 5 to 6 persons. Prominent officials would be welcome, but in a private capacity only. They would not necessarily be the Chiefs of their respective delegation, the selection of which should rest in the hands of the National Executive Councils. The President of the Executive Council would act as Chairman pro tem of the World Meeting, being replaced by a Chairman elected by the Meeting from a panel of nominations presented by the Executive Council. Each delegation would vote as a unit, and the majority principle would prevail (or plurality where appropriate). World Meetings would be scheduled to last three or four days. The Agenda would normally include modifications of the Declaration on Freedom and Democracy adopted by the First World Meeting, amendments to the Statutes, Reports from the Permanent Commissions, acceptance of new members, and other business.

E. Affiliated Organizations.

Much of the success of the World Congress for Democracy and Freedom would depend upon its ability to

establish cooperative working relations with other more limited and specialized organizations, both international and national. It would be a principal task of the Executive Councils at both levels to promote the broadest possible associations, ranging from formal affiliation to informal correspondence and exchange of mutually interesting information. It is not possible to define the limits of such relationships, other than in terms of the general purpose of the Congress itself, promotion of the principles of Freedom and Democracy. It is obvious that many of the great Free World international organizations (Congress of Cultural Freedom, International Jurists Commission, International Free Trade Union, not to mention youth, women's, and others) would be natural objects of close affiliation. At the national level, Friendship Societies, Cultural Exchange programs, Foreign Policy Associations, Leagues of Women Voters, universities, civic and church groups would be urged to establish working relations. A pattern for action would be established, seeking to reinforce democratic causes and to counter Communism. Activities of Communist "fronts, " national and international, would be exposed and rigorously combatted, not by mere negative "anti-Communist" crusades, but by positive example and by propaganda in the noblest sense, the propagation of the truth through free yet disciplined organization.

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FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY
A Declaration of Principles

3 October 1961

Today the world could be one in Peace and Freedom. Instead, like Gaul, it is divided into three parts. Two of them are polarized, the third is suspended between these two. Each of the three proclaims its love of Peace, each, its dedication to Freedom, yet there is no Peace, and Freedom is in peril.

Absolute polarization is declared by the movement of International Communism to exist between the "world Socialist system," comprising the 12 countries of the Sino-Soviet Bloc with its apparatus of "fraternal parties," and the "world capitalist system headed by the United States." The third component - the "unaligned nations" - has been designated by the Communists as the "Great Zone of Peace," which is declared to be basically in sympathy with, and gravitating toward them. The "world socialist system" is described as a militant "camp," protected by the armed might of the Soviet Union. It is also held to be a "community" of mutual benefit or "commonwealth" (sodruzhestvo), a grouping of "equal, independent" nations which constitutes the matrix within which total world Communism will be formed.

We hold this Communist concept of the world order to be radically false. We firmly believe that the suspension of the "unaligned" nations is only temporary. They are gravitating, indeed for the most part they already belong, to the World of Freedom. Not all of them have achieved Democracy; some indeed frankly present regimes of authoritarian, paternalistic or even feudal nature. But, unlike the "world socialist system," this entire multiform grouping harbors the potential of true Freedom. Even the most arbitrary governments, outside the Communist system, fall short of, and generally oppose that form of tyranny, that totalitarianism, which only Communists and Fascists have sought to elevate to a system of world domination.

The Free World is indeed the pole of a magnet, the positive one which attracts rather than repels. But it is a dynamic pole, its pull grows ever stronger, despite the efforts of Communists to weaken it. The Communists in their propaganda declare the Free World to be in fact the antithesis of "true Freedom," which in their tortured philosophy comes only with "the recognition of necessity." This in turn proceeds from the acceptance of "dialectical materialism" as codified in the classics of Marxism-Leninism and interpreted by the Communist Party leaders. The "Free World," they declare, "is a world of exploitation and lack of rights, a world where human dignity and national honor are trampled underfoot, a world of obscurantism and political reaction, of rabid militarism and bloody reprisals against the working people." (Draft of the Program of the Communist Party of the CPSU, to be presented to its 22nd Congress in October 1961, para. 217).

Against this declaration of hate, the Free World must affirm the universal truth and the living force of its principles. These are the principles which should govern all mankind. We state them here affirmatively, and by this very statement we answer the implacable challenge of the one enemy of true Freedom, International Communism, "headed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and centering in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." (The official formula until the Sino-Soviet crisis of 1960, and still descriptive of the de facto situation).

In stating these principles we draw on the wisdom set forth in past utterances, and at the same time declare our independence of those shibboleths which have dimmed that wisdom. We also work to remove the tarnish which the unclean manipulation and fraudulent appropriation by the Communists have deposited on such noble concepts as Peace, Democracy, Freedom, Social Justice, Humanism, Commonwealth, Social Democracy, and even - supreme irony - the Dignity of Man. By the very existence of the crisis into which Communism has plunged the entire world, its free component has no alternative but to pick up the challenge and fight back.

The program we set forth here is generated in conflict, that very "negation of opposites" which dialectical materialism proclaims as the supreme law of being. At the same time, it strives toward that "unity of opposites" which Communism holds forth as its goal, but which, in virtue of its genesis in negation and destruction, it cannot achieve.

We candidly acknowledge our errors of omission and commission. Unlike the Communists whose spurious "self-criticism" is but the medium through which the very real criticism of a superior is abjectly acknowledged and intensified, we, through free discussion, are able to achieve the timely correction of abuses and insure the orderly process of responsible governance.

We do not claim to hold all truth, but neither do we, like Pilate, query its very existence. We do challenge that "pravda," that dictated "truth" which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sets forth in its writ under the banner of Marxist-Leninist "science." The arena of challenge to truth is the whole world. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

1. The Dignity of Man.

"Man is the measure of all things." Man and the world in which he lives cannot be explained merely in terms of motion and matter as the Communists endlessly assert. His is a moral essence. Whatever the ultimate nature of the universe may be - and science daily unfolds as many unfathomed mysteries as new revelations - the nature of Man is clearly a union of matter and spirit. The purpose of his life is to perfect this union.

The Communists, despite their materialism and their militant atheism, attribute "spiritual" qualities of the highest order to the "New Communist Man" they claim to be creating; taking for granted his physical vigor, they also attribute to him in equal degree both "moral" and "cultural" excellence. This complex of virtues they proclaim as "socialist humanism," (a new concept developed by Polish literature and recently

adopted by Khrushchev), contrasting it with "bourgeois humanism" which, they allege, was indeed living and creative during the Renaissance and Enlightenment, but which has now become the instrument of the bourgeoisie for the "exploitation of the working class." (The Chinese are dubious about Khrushchev's version of "socialist humanism").

Such arrant distortion of history cannot go unanswered. The Free World does not claim that the specific European tradition of Graeco-Latin humanism, fused as it has been with Judaic-Christianity, is the only pattern for the formation of Man. It sees in the worldwide variety of spiritual and ethical disciplines - including some, such as Confucianism, which are now being perverted by Communism - the embodiment of the truth expressed by Christ, "In my Father's house there are many mansions." But it cannot reconcile itself with the Orwellian doctrine that rampant materialism can issue in the true spiritual dignity of Man.

Let us look with tolerance on all forms of religions belief, and even on men who have none, so long as they do not preach "militant godlessness" and impose it through coercion! Let us recognize that Man, whether through Revelation or through Inner Light, bears the truth in himself, and that knowledge of this truth shall make him free!

2. The Dynamics of Historical Progress.

The peoples and leaders of the Free World are hopeful of human progress. The awareness of Man's shortfall of perfection, which tinctures the great religions, is in harmony with the sense of his Promethean genius. We do not resort to spurious invocations of "life itself" - interpreted by Marxism-Leninism as the pure motion of matter - to inspire ourselves with the assurance of some predestined victory.

Going beyond the facile - and itself partly materialistic - optimism of 19th century Europe, we chart our course under the purposeful guidance of will and intellect. We see

no "wave of the future," no inevitable historic triumph awaiting any social system, least of all that which denies the essentials of Freedom. Rather we see the progress of mankind as a hard-run race, in which training, discipline, courage and persistence alone yield victory. Life is indeed the supreme trainer as well as the arbiter, but it sets no rules which favor the ruthless or the unscrupulous. Those who start late or are infirm need not despair. "The race is not to the swift or the battle to the strong."

Let us ally for progress!

3. The Nature of the Era.

The Communists have taught us one useful lesson, the need to fix in our minds a valid concept of the era in which we live. Again, with destructive intention and perverse logic, they have deliberately polarized it:

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale. (Declaration of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, December 1961, Part I).

The Free World proceeds from a positive concept. Our time is indeed one of transition, signaled by no mere national Revolution, but by a universal Revolution into which those of many countries and peoples are converging. It is a time of struggle, not between two opposing social systems, but between the forces of Liberty and of Tyranny. It is indeed a time in which old empires are disappearing, hastened on their way into history by the growing enlightenment of

those who had created them. Colonialism is giving way to orderly programs of help and self-help, devised in concert between those who "have" and those who "have not." New nations are springing forth "like bamboo shoots after spring rains" (Mao). The surge of their liberation is not free from violence, but it is generally one of peace, of voluntary renunciation of a power which once served useful purposes but is now unnecessary and even harmful, if it is not accompanied by concrete programs for its own transfer. In this global process, many peoples are indeed following the path of socialism of their own will and with fruitful results. The path of Communism has never been entered freely by any people. It is that of a new and more baleful "Imperialism" than any which has ever existed.

Our era is one of transition from a world in which a few have been free to one in which all can be free. It is one of actualizing the potential, of fanning into flame the spark which is in every man.

Let us be worthy of our age!

4. "Nations of the Earth, Unite!"

The standard of the World Revolution of Freedom and Democracy is carried by a hundred nations, some millennial and strong, many newly born and frail. Nationalism is a mighty creative force, but it is also a breeder of turbulence and even of destruction. The Free World hails it as a primary source of energy in the "Revolution of rising expectations," yet sees the need to subject it, like the unlimited power of the atom, to control. We do not accept the Communists' distinction between "bourgeois nationalism" and socialist (recte Soviet) patriotism. "Still less do we accept their "proletarian internationalism" which is candidly stated to demand unswerving loyalty to the Soviet Union as the fatherland of the Communist Revolution.

True nationalism can flourish only in freedom under discipline. Within the universal oneness of Man's nature,

there are infinite diversities of racial configuration, of social development, of temperament, history, and culture. Properly nurtured, these constitute legitimate sources of national pride. Perverted, they engender the violence of chauvinism or the stagnation of parochialism.

As mankind moves forward, the differences between nations tend to decrease. Education creates community. Universal communication, first within and then among nations, softens clan and tribal contrasts and heightens common traits. The world slowly becomes a "melting pot."

From this amalgamation, emerge groupings which transcend the nation-states. These seek common bonds among neighbors, and regional associations take shape. Even continents and vast archipelagos drift or purposefully move toward political and economic cohesion. We believe that regional federations, defensive alliances, common markets and multinational cultural affiliations are the supporting arches in the creation of a stable world structure.

Twice in this century the governments of the world have sought to actualize the ancient dream of philosophers and poets, a world unity of nations. One effort failed, the other is under great stress. There is no "parliament of Man," but the ideal persists. Only the antagonism of International Communism stands in its way.

We believe that the United Nations will triumph over its would-be destroyers and that the true Commonwealth of Free Nations will prevail over the false "Commonwealth of Socialist Nations" (sodruzhestvo sotsialisticheskikh stran) subjected to the domination of Communist parties. Meanwhile, the way of progress lies in regional and transoceanic associations, through the patient study of means to rise above the limitations of classic national "sovereignty" while preserving the richness of life which the diversity of nations contains.

Let us forge the bonds of world association in Freedom!

5. "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares."

The history of the human race is written in blood and in tears of bitterness. Whether, as religions teach, because Man has fallen from grace, or, as science suggests, because he has not shed his animal nature, violence has been the red thread in the web of history. But there is a white thread crossing it, the striving for Peace.

Today, for the first time in history, "there is no alternative to peace." Man, whether in sin or in grace, has learned to draw from the earth forces of destruction and creation which threaten as they illumine his existence. We have seen the cloud which overshadows the light and the promise.

The tragedy of this age is the perversion of the love of Peace. The polarization imposed by Communism has led to the coinage of a slippery and deceptive slogan, "peaceful coexistence." The Communists describe this as the "highest form of class struggle." "Peaceful coexistence" is the condition of non-violent but deadly war. It is not Peace.

The Free World cherishes true Peace. Because of the incontrovertible evidence that the Communists not merely threaten Peace, but will violate it wherever their interests so dictate, the Free World has had to arm itself and to create defensive alliances. It is firmly determined to reverse the arms race on which Communism has launched the world. The United States has made sincere and practical proposals for complete and general disarmament. It seeks to convert its military alliances into organs of political, economic and cultural cooperation. It asks nothing better than to dismantle all armed bases. It wants no military blocs.

It behooves the other nations of the Free World, including the unaligned and the neutral, to join in the effort to turn "peaceful coexistence" into Peace.

Let us have Peace!

6. "Government of the People, by the People, and for the People!"

Man is a political animal. He is the architect of governments, and his instinct is to create order in freedom. Through the centuries, the health of states has been shown to lie in this happy balance. The ideal form for its achievement is Democracy.

It is here that our antithesis with Communists emerges in full clarity, for they claim that their system is the only "true democracy." They have embellished the "dictatorship of the proletariat" under the state form of "people's democracy." They have imposed a hierarchical transmission of arbitrary directive, calling it "democratic centralism." They have, indeed, corrupted the concept of the people's rule to the point where many who believe in it have become afraid of the very word Democracy and seek other terms to convey its essence.

We do not lay down a detailed blueprint for Democracy, which like all human institutions is multiform. It can be established through a constitution, wrought in the aftermath of sharp revolutionary conflict, like that of the United States, deposited in an alluvium of centuries of experience, like that of Britain, or written by cloistered political scientists in abstraction from history, like those which have sometimes been prescribed for newborn nations of the twentieth century. Only the test of political rivalry can determine whether a Democracy is living.

We know of only one criterion by which to adjudge a true Democracy, the free selection by the people of those who govern them. This practice is by no means limited to advanced countries. In many so-called backward nations, even in tribes, the seeds of Democracy exist at the lowest level. The election of the village council of elders can be the simple germ from which the higher and more elaborate forms of Democracy spring.

Democracy needs nourishment and guidance, not that which power-inspired "vanguards" insinuate by craft and subversion but that which is provided by dedicated leaders. These may be aristocrats or sons of the people, intellectuals or men of religion who have learned the art of government from old, established - even "colonial" - regimes, or military elites emerging from internal and external conflicts. The holders of traditional feudal and royal absolute authority can, if they choose, lead their people in the 'path that they should tread.' Even the "charismatic" leaders of "one party states" can move into Democracy, provided they cleave to the principle that, as speedily as the level of education and the consciousness of responsibility permit, the people must freely make their choice of men and of issues.

Once this principle is established, its corollaries follow in abundance. Specific freedoms flow from the general. The right to act, to move, to assemble and to speak freely, can be inscribed in fundamental law, a Bill of Rights, or developed in uncoded practice. Separation of powers, checks and balances, may or may not require institutional embodiment. All that matters is the assured "consent of the governed," the absolute "Rule of Law."

This, Communism cannot allow, for it would bring the overthrow of its power. To be sure, with an effrontery hitherto unmatched, the Draft Program of the CPSU professes to hail the so-called "national democracies," emerging from "colonialist oppression," as the bearers of democratic rights, including freedom of speech and assembly, and pledges the Communist parties to support them. But the true intention is scarcely concealed, to bring about a union of "all patriotic and progressive forces" under the leadership of the Communist party and to impose the "dictatorship of the proletariat." From this, no Freedom can emerge or survive.

We repeat our belief that Man's dignity and worth are innate, and from them spring the roots of political judgment. However smothered they may become in poverty or falsely stimulated by demagoguery, these are the roots of Freedom and they will sprout if watered by education under devoted leadership.

Let us hold to Democracy as our priceless heritage and extend it everywhere!"

7. "The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number."

Freedom is integral to the economy as well as to the polity. The productive structure of the Free World, rising as it does from the labor of the many and varied conditions of men, cannot be comprehended in a single system. Least of all can it be imprisoned in one element of a Communist imposed dialectic, the "world capitalist system" locked in "antagonistic contradiction" with the "world socialist system."

The Free World enfoldes both capitalism and socialism, not as antitheses, but as alternative systems for the organization of production, both of which blend in the numerous forms of "mixed economies." All economies are based on the accumulation of capital, and all pass through various stages of social development before this accumulation has reached the self-sustaining level.

Nor is the Communist pattern simple and unitary. It is possible to describe even the Soviet system with the term which it levels in scorn against some of the more advanced Western European economies: "state monopoly capitalism." The outlines of a Soviet "welfare state" emerge from the very pages of the Draft Program of the CPSU in which that great achievement of the twentieth century Free World is ridiculed.

Even the concept of a "planned economy" is no longer a specific differential between the two "world systems." Communist economies, especially the Soviet, are seeking to promote flexibility of local initiative and decision within the hitherto rigid, ministry-ridden, bureaucratic octopus lodged in Moscow. (With a boldness impossible under Stalin, economic theorists subject orthodox doctrines to critical scrutiny. "Capitalist" views on price, market, obsolescence, interest, and even consumer preference infiltrate the citadel of orthodoxy. The so-called "transition to Communism," which Khrushchev and his ideological henchmen chart in the Draft Program,

is plotted against a series of Central Committee decrees which culminate in the promise of supermarkets bulging with frozen fruit juices and sugar-coated cereals, advertised on television. Small wonder that the hardpressed Chinese smell "creeping bourgeoisie" in the Soviet "City of the Sun"!).

But the citadels of classic capitalism are also stirring within. Long ago, in most advanced economies of the West, the Marxist clarion call for "class struggle" against the "exploiting bourgeoisie" lost its ring.

A new economic edifice is being created in the Free World. The cornerstone of Social Justice in the economy was laid by the progressive income tax on which the "welfare state" has risen. Competition, the life principle of all productive activity, has been subjected to both sustaining and restraining adjustment. Planning has entered openly in most countries, and even in those where some still shy away from it as "creeping socialism," it is practiced in the form of regulation of private business and provision of public investment by the state.

The "general crisis of capitalism" which the Communists have trumpeted against has not occurred; no wall of Jericho has tumbled. Within their generally "mixed" economies, the advanced nations have consolidated the self-energizing processes of capital accumulation, and gone to the era of "mass consumption." The "monopolies" against which Communism inveighs with concentrated venom, the great corporations which have emerged from the uncontrolled eruption of private enterprise during the first half of the twentieth century, are increasingly aware of their status as quasi-public institutions. Managers have learned to bargain fairly with workers, and to share with them in the responsibilities and profits. A vast apparatus of social security has been created, in which pension and retirement funds have imposed a new foresight and prudence on economic leadership.

We do not claim that the mechanism of "capitalism" functions perfectly, or that it can serve the needs of society quite without admixture of "socialism." We recognize that its achievements lie far beyond the present reach of many emerging nations. We acknowledge that it is under competitive challenge from Communist economies, which with their weight of imposed authority - at the cost of great human suffering - have also shown high productive capacity.

What we present is a concept of Economic Democracy (not adequately set forth in terms such as "people's capitalism"). It embraces the plenitude of new economies, as diverse in form throughout the world as the nations, peoples, races, climates and soils.

We propose, therefore, that the classic shibboleths of "capitalism" and "socialism" be withdrawn from the arena of conflict, and be invested with neutrality of value. What should replace them is a plurality of economic concepts, based on the stages of development of nations and regions, uniting in concern with stability and freedom of opportunity, and seeking the embodiment of that ideal of Democracy and Justice which informs the politics in the World of Freedom.

Let us direct the productive work of mankind in the spirit of Social Justice and Democratic Freedom!

8. The Strong shall Succor the Weak.

Nations, like men, are equal in their dignity and their worth. They are unequal in size, natural advantages and state of development. The claim that these inequalities can be removed in a short time is either fraud or Utopianism. To prescribe dictatorial methods as a short cut is to offer a remedy which cannot cure and can only aggravate the disease.

The Communists press the Free World to enter a "peaceful competition" to develop backward areas. If this were an honest challenge between peers, we would gladly accept it. But we hear their hateful words of defiance, we

watch the evidence of their deceitful intention to convert economic assistance into political subversion, and we reject their gage.

The nations of the Free World which have achieved the stage of self-sustaining growth have begun to help others over the threshold. The effort mounts steadily and in concert. But all know that it is not enough. The temptation of societies which have but newly tasted affluence is to linger over it and delay its sharing. The stage of "mass consumption" has its own inner compulsions which blind natural benevolence. And even in a generally affluent society there are vast areas of underfulfillment which press their claims.

Let us honestly admit that the centuries of imperialism have left a taint. Even countries whose hands are relatively clean, having long since foresworn colonial rule, have profited by that rule in the hands of others. The advanced economies of the West still owe much of their prosperity to the fact that they can command raw materials produced by "single crop" or "single mineral" countries, whose hold on subsistence is at the mercy of cruel market fluctuations.

It is a simple debt which the rich nations owe to the poor. It must not be with the calculation of buying allies against the enemy, Communism, that the "haves" share with the "have nots." Rather it is with the recognition of obligation to the millions of workers who, often in bitter poverty, produce the essential ingredients of an alien, unattainable prosperity.

We recognize that the effort of economic assistance must be doubled and trebled and more. All who can must contribute to it, not grudgingly but with an open hand. The basis of this contribution is not largesse but enlightenment. It is not "give away" but investment in the future of mankind. It benefits the investor as much as the recipient. It is a demonstration of mutual respect and interest.

But all investment calls for prudence. The investor is entitled to ask that the managers of the enterprise in which he is interested display qualities of resourcefulness, honesty and responsibility. He must be protected against the consequences of waste, corruption and arbitrary action.

Similarly, when the investment is in a whole nation, there must be guarantees of integrity. Without "attaching political strings," a program of economic assistance is entitled to stipulate that the beneficiary government give proof of respect for the terms of contract, and that it be influenced in a reasonable degree by the judgment of the investor in matters of economic rationality.

The responsibility of the beneficiary nation goes further. It must show that it is capable of sound planning and of administering programs honestly. If its social system is of such a nature that only the few stand to benefit from economic development, it must be prepared to make effective reforms on behalf of the many. These cannot be imposed from outside. They are the earnest of true self-help.

The advanced nations of the Free World are determined to repeal that "iron law" by which "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." There is profound wisdom in the Parable of the Talents: "Unto everyone that hath shall be given . . . but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath" is not the maxim of "exploiters" but of those who seek to use their Master's wealth as "good and faithful servants."

Let us help those who help themselves!

9. The Fullness of the Earth.

As Man is uneven in his virtue, so is he uneven in his efforts to win life from the Earth. The Earth is good, its resources abundant beyond his needs. But the distribution of its wealth is not in balance with the limitations of Man who, by his improvidence, has turned fertile areas into desert and, by his ignorance, has neglected the riches which lie beneath his hand.

The triumphs of medicine have brought a great revolution in Man's expectancy of life, and have broken one rod in the hand of that grim law which bears the name of Malthus. Pestilence has given way, but famine and war remain as dire enforcers.

In the wide areas of the world where the tyranny of disease has been abated, there has been a wholesome, natural upsurge of the forces of life. Children are begotten and survive the cradle in numbers which presage vast new generations. This "population explosion" has been viewed with grave apprehension by those who see no escape from the Malthusian law. The Communists, have perhaps taught us a lesson by their denial of this danger (a denial which at least in the case of China is hedged by intermittent campaigns of population control).

We must all acknowledge that the immediate effects of this release from the cruelest scourge of mortality have exacted a high price. Precisely in those countries which have felt its greatest benefits, the penalties are most apparent. The painful task of economic construction is handicapped at the outset by a mounting army of mouths to be fed. Tragic irony lies in the fact that at the same time the agricultural capacity of a number of the advanced economies has outstripped the needs of their well-fed populations, leading to retrenchment in production.

These maladjustments need not last forever. Man now has at his disposition the resources and the skills to make the "desert blossom as the rose." Food from the earth and the sea can be produced sufficient unto the needs of this and larger future generations.

Nevertheless, a present balance must be established. It is possible that this will occur as a result of basic social processes which will reduce the overwhelming pressures. The violent upward curve of population is no more likely to be permanent than was the stagnation and decline which affected a number of European countries in the early twentieth century.

But the stabilization of population growth in harmonious proportion to the expansion of Man's productive capacity is not assured by purely spontaneous forces. There must be some measure of forethought and deliberation in the policies of government and in the actions of individuals.

Our duty is to insure that the yield of the Earth grows at a higher rate than the fertility of the human race. To this end, the resources of all nations must be harnessed. The first task is to transform the great river basins into sources of food and power, free from the immemorial sorrows they have inflicted. The next task is to open the unused lands - jungles, steppes and savannas - to exploit those which are under-used because of lack of capital or population, and to bring new fertility to those which centuries of intensive cultivation have worn out.

As we bring men up from subsistence through such programs, we must also delve more widely and deeply into the Earth for its minerals and its fuels. This, too, must be a concerted effort in which the technical skills and the capital equipment are provided in abundance by those who have them to spare. The basic minerals are generously distributed in the areas of backwardness; these should be brought forth by the enterprise of the advanced nations under generous terms of partnership. The natural resources of the poor are a trust which the rich must administer prudently for them until they can take over the task. We cannot afford to allow the narrow gains of "colonial exploitation" to debase the currency and credit of Freedom and Democracy, opening the way to the false coin of Communism.

The Earth has in its bosom the sources of power and energy for centuries of expanding mankind. It may be that the promise of an age of "nuclear plenty" will prove illusory, if for no other cause than the problem of rebottling the genie loosed from the earth,, (specifically the disposal of nuclear waste, though recent technological progress in this field shows promise that Man can meet the centuries of custodial respon-

sibility for "hot waste" which is imposed by "nuclear plenty"). But fossil fuel, especially coal and oil shale, is virtually unlimited, and once the narrower considerations of commercial profitability are absorbed in the broader spirit of providing Man's needs at whatever cost, they can surely be exploited on an unimagined scale. (There is also an abundance of natural gas, flared off in the extraction of oil in regions where there are no large populations and developed industries. This can now be liquefied and transported by tanker to any port in the world. It should be a challenge to the enterprise and ingenuity of free industry to devise systems of distribution to bring it into the hundreds of thousands of villages in the poorer countries, which are now forced to burn charcoal from the trees which protect the soil from erosion, or dung which could restore its fertility).

These are but a few of the great endeavors which the Free World should undertake to alleviate the lot of Man.

Let us bring Man into harmony with his Mother, the Earth!

10. Knowledge is Power.

Man's advance in knowledge is the measure of his progress. In the great task of social construction, education is the universal lever. Philosophy unfolds the principle of Being and the arts give expression to its plenitude ("the Great Chain of Being"). Science brings mastery of nature and is applied by the tools of technology to the material enrichment of civic and domestic life. "Where there is no light, the people perish."

In the vast campaign of social and political development in which the Free World is engaged, schools are the pioneers. Basic illiteracy must be wiped out, so that men and women can read, as well as hear, the words which will free or enslave them. The economic power exerted by emerging literacy has been demonstrated by the heroic achievements of once backward peoples such as the Japanese and the Russians.

We propose the foundation of schools everywhere and at all levels of need. A seed crop of teachers from many lands must be provided, and these must be endowed with the zeal of missionaries in the spirit of Freedom. There must be mature universities and technological institutes in every new country, and, crowning these, higher centers of learning for entire regions. Faculties, books and research equipment must flow from all sources of endowment.

But the need is not merely among the retarded. Many of the countries which have marked the highest progress still fall short of the peak because education is restricted by parsimony and the survival of privilege. Opportunity must be placed before every child.

The principles of education must be reinvigorated. New branches of psychological and pedagogic science, and inter-disciplinary convergence among them, have opened avenues of progress no less promising than those lying before the natural sciences. But there are false openings and dangerous detours. The Communists, captivated by the possibilities which electronic computers have unfolded, are turning the science of cybernetics - that is control - to the ends of the Party's power. The "new Communist man" nurtured in boarding schools, sterilized of healthy parental influence, is to be "indoctrinated" and "conditioned" to "joy in socialist labor," which in practice means submission to the tasks and station in life which the elite of the "New Class" assign to him.

Without the freedom to criticize doctrine and to form his own values, Man can not enjoy the freedom to choose his leaders, which, as we have seen, is the essential privilege of Democracy. We espouse the ancient wisdom of the Chinese: "Let a hundred flowers blossom; let a hundred schools of thought contend." (Only a tyrant could cruelly pervert this into a slogan designed to entrap unwary intellectuals who oppose his despotism and to purge their doctrines as "poisonous weeds.")

But this very Freedom which education can bestow is conditioned on the acceptance of discipline, and thus, as we have said, does not consist in the recognition of material "necessity," but rather of the "universal in the particular." It is this derivation from the generality of human experience that makes education in Freedom and in discipline the sole creator of the "good life."

Let us cultivate all the flowers in the garden of mind!

11. The Good Life.

The fulfillment of Man springs from his own spirit. In ignorance and in want, he cannot achieve it, and therefore we propose new and mighty programs to remove these impediments.

But the "good life," though it presupposes a modicum of material welfare, is not assured by abundance. We are witnessing in the societies of "mass consumption" a new crisis, not that "general crisis" which the Communists impute to "decadent capitalism," but one which arises from its very success in production which they refuse to acknowledge. Not merely a few, but many are beset by a plethora of things and of time. There is, indeed, a mounting "crisis of prosperity and of leisure." Those who are most free in these goods are in danger of another slavery. The slogans of affluence are insidious (the identification of a flow of advertised products with the "good life"; "billboards help make freedom of choice"; "active leisure").

The resolution of this crisis calls for an act of will and renunciation. Those who are richly endowed must recognize the obligation which their fortune imposes, not to "share their wealth" in downward levelling egalitarianism, but to employ their goods and their strengths to raise the less fortunate. We have shown that, in the economic field, this is no "give away," but an act of enlightenment. In the fields of

culture and thought, sharing is enrichment, cooperation is fulfillment, participation in common endeavor is the actualization of self.

Here, too, the Communists, groping toward truth, are content with half. They preach the life of excellence, of virtue, even of self-abnegation (the New Frontier of the "Virgin Lands"). But it cannot be the "good life" because it is not free. The springs of altruism, deep in Russian and in Han, are poisoned by the "will to power."

The individual, sacred in himself, achieves his full stature only as he develops among other men. The community in which he lives is more than the soulless "collective" of the Communists. It is a part, however small, of the brotherhood of Man. The Communists have lately pirated the vision of the great European Utopians; they hail Saint Thomas More and the "City of the Sun" of Campanella. We, too, cherish their light, even though often we see it "through a glass darkly." We deny that it can be seen at all by those who are not free. Our Utopia would not exclude the "Civitas Dei."

The act of will for which we call is one of moderation. It seeks the "Golden Mean." We honor the differences in the "nature and condition of men," those who cling to the past and those who forge impatiently toward the future, but we seek balance in all things.

Let the goodness of life be universal!

12. Freedom Militant.

We have tried to illustrate the principles of Freedom and Democracy. The effort is of necessity imperfect. It must be continued in study and debate.

The World of Freedom is an ecclesia. It stands opposed to another church which is unique in history because

it is the embodiment of a "secular religion." Communism is impelled by a false materialist faith, but it is a faith that "moves mountains," even as it poisons the air and the waters and the souls of men.

The church militant of Freedom must be visible. It must have active embodiment in an infinitude of groups, public and private, great and small. Each group must itself be free, but all must work in harmony. There must be organization to propagate and defend the faith.

Let us, to this end, create a World Congress of Freedom and Democracy.